1: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

(2)

Koret	Single men	Married men	Women	Male children	Female children	Total
Kipkurerek	6	6	15	10	10	48
Sasniyo	22	10	26	16	10	102
Kelpai	25	19	17	9	5	75
	53	44	58	35	34	225

SOURCE: Huntingford, 1929, 1942, 1951, and unpublished material. There are no other sources for the Kipkurerek Dorobo; and except in the case of the Kidoq (p. 70 below) there is no material for a description of any other horde; nor are any other population figures available.

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

The North Tindiret Forest lies about five miles from the south-eastern boundary of the Nandi Land Unit, and rises from 7,000 ft. to over 9,000 ft. It consists of two great east-west ridges reaching an altitude of about 8,500 ft. divided by the deeply sunk river Kipkurere, "hollow (river)," the ridges merging some 12 miles from the western edge in the high ground round Timboroa which rises to over 9,000 ft. The region is dense evergreen "high forest," with trees of 100 ft. and over, and thick, impenetrable undergrowth growing to a height of 6 or 8 ft. The average rainfall on a farm two miles from the edge of the forest was 54.09 ins. over a period of nine years. Till within the last 25 years the Dorobo lived in small isolated settlements right inside the forest. Access was given by two parallel tracks across the south-western corner of the forest, and concealed paths branched off from them leading to the settlements. In addition to providing a permanent home, the forest was their wet-weather hunting ground; in dry weather the Dorobo used to hunt far afield over Nandi and the Uasin Gishu Plateau, and down to the Rift Valley. In 1937 they were removed from the forest, and a number of them (of domicile categories A and B) settled round the edge of the forest, along a narrow strip of grassland and bush that forms the upper edge of the farms which occupy the five-mile space between the forest and the Nandi Land Unit. But the intention of the Government had been to transfer the Dorobo to the Nandi Land Unit. This the Dorobo did not agree to, but their re-settlement along the edge of the forest was not officially accepted, and they lived there without legal rights unless they became squatters or casual labourers on the farms they settled on.

MAIN FEATURES OF ECONOMY

Till disturbed by European settlement, the Dorobo had a purely hunting economy, though during the last 30 years they have been taking some interest in the acquisition of cattle and in small-scale cultivation. In their hunting days, their only livestock were bees and dogs.

HUNTING

The year was divided into two seasons, *emaiswak*, the dry weather, when they hunted game of all sorts with bow and arrow both in the forest and much farther afield; and *imotet*, the wet weather, when they set traps in the forest. In the past they hunted buffalo and elephant, and lion were killed in the plains; leopard and pig are still hunted. Smaller game hunted and eaten include antelope and monkeys of all kinds: almost any kind of meat was eaten, except that of hyena, jackal, and

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P.58--ANALYST]

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

other scavengers. Nowadays, all hunting activities are carried on illegally with the risk of being punished if caught by the police.

Weapons are the bow and poisoned arrows carried in a quiver. Knives are used to skin game and to make springes. Spears have never been used. The Dorobo used to have hunting dogs, but in the North Tindiret Forest the breed seems to have died out, though it existed in 1927. They have two kinds of trap: (i) The pit trap, *ngurot*, formerly used for buffalo, consisting of a pit 8 ft. long, 3 ft. wide, and 6 ft. deep, with wooden spikes set in the bottom. (ii) The springe or snare, *porousi*, which consists, briefly, of a springy stick bent over, with a noose attached to it connected with a platform: the arrangement is such that when an animal treads on the platform its head enters the noose, and the pressure on the platform releases the springy stick, which flies up, tightening the noose, and holding the animal suspended. Such traps can be made in less than ten minutes. This type is used chiefly to catch antelopes, but leopards have been caught in them. Cross-bar traps with a drop-spear were not used by the Kipkurerek Dorobo.

The only hunting taboo recorded is that the night before he goes out hunting a man must abstain from sexual intercourse. This does not apply to the setting of traps.

As regards land rights, the forest was divided into districts, *koret*, pl. *korosuek*, and in his district each man had an hereditary block of land in which he hunted, set traps, kept his honey-barrels, and collected wild food. Occupation rights were recognized by public opinion, and trespass on a man's forest area, i.e., deliberate entry in order to start hunting without permission or the promise of a piece of meat, might result in the trespasser's death at the hands of the owner, who would then have to pay compensation for homicide. Theft of game from a trap is said never to have occurred, not only because the thief might be killed, but because his belly would swell to a great size and he would die after eating meat stolen from a trap.

Bees

Honey is to the Dorobo what milk is to the Nandi: it is "sacred," and its supply must be protected by the observance of taboos. Fruit and blood must not be eaten on the same day as honey (though meat may be eaten); when a comb is emptied, it must be carefully hidden in the undergrowth; and after eating honey a Dorobo cleans his hands in earth, not (like the Nandi) by wiping them with leaves.

The Dorobo recognize four varieties of bee: *sekemik*, the honey-producing kind; *imeiik*, solitary bees which live in trees; *kosomek*, earth bees, which live in the ground; and *kiptulonik*, mason bees, which live in cells made of earth and particles of stone cemented together by their own saliva. The Dorobo divide the honey-bees, *sekemik*, into three kinds: the queen, *kamat ap sekemik*, "the mother of the bees"; the workers, called simply *sekemik*, considered to be males, which make honey by eating the "sap" (*pek*) of flowers and then vomiting it into the empty honey-combs; and the drones, *kapurenik*, considered to be idle females which do nothing useful.

Hives or honey-barrels (*pasanet*) are made either of slats of wood tied together, with circular wooden end-pieces; or of the two halves of a piece of log split longitudinally and tied together. They are set in trees, and when a new hive is put up, the owner calls the bees, in a high-pitched tone, to come and occupy it: "Bees, bees, from all the country, come here now, and pour in honey, pour in honey." Bees are said to recognize their owners by their body-smell, and do not sting them when taking honey. Certainly taking honey does not appear to be a painful or dangerous process to the Dorobo owner. Theft of honey from a barrel is considered very low, and a man might kill a thief, though he would have to pay compensation for homicide.

Honey is an important article in Dorobo economy: it is eaten as food, made into an intoxicant, used for ritual purification, and it forms an article of commerce.

1;Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

tree," *rotinet* (*higelia æthiopica*); and *maiyek*, eleusine beer, made, though seldom, in the Nandi way. They also drink a mixture of honey and water called *lohomek*.

Trade and Exchange

The inability of the Dorobo to produce many of the things they need has led to the development of a system of exchange with the Nandi, who till recently were almost the only people with whom they had dealings. Relations between Dorobo and Nandi have been such that, though maintaining their complete independence, the Dorobo have not only obtained goods by trade, but have acquired and assimilated much Nandi culture, including language, clan-names, agriculture, and many material features like dress and ornaments. Their relations are in general friendly, for the Nandi like honey and furs which they get most easily from the Dorobo, and there has been an increasing number of marriages of Dorobo men with Nandi women, as well as of Dorobo women with Nandi men. But neither side takes liberties with the other: the Dorobo fear the physical superiority of the Nandi, and the Nandi fear the close-to-nature life of the Dorobo, as well as a certain mystical force as rain-makers which they attribute to them.

From the Nandi the Dorobo get objects of iron, pottery, beads, tobacco, cattle (see below, p. 61), and the seed of cereals for planting. The Nandi get skins and honey from the Dorobo. There are no special places for trade, but the Dorobo go to the nearest smith or potter or other person who can supply them, and make their bargains. This means a journey into the Nandi Land Unit, but other things can be got from the nearest friendly Nandi. The exchange values in 1939 were:

1 axe for 1 bagful of honey;
1 bundle of tobacco (about 1 lb.) for 1 bagful of honey;
1 arrowhead for 1 gourd full of honey;
1s. worth of trade beads for a gourd full of honey;
1 knife for a day's weeding in the smith's garden;
1 large earthenware pot for 1 large prepared buck skin (usually bush-buck)
1 small earthenware pot for 1 small prepared buck skin (usually duiker);
2 baskets of seed for planting for 1 new basket.

The bag, *motoket*, is made of skin and measures about 8 ins. by 7 ins.; the gourd is about 10 ins. long; the large pot is about 20 ins. high, the small pot about 10 ins. high; and the basket is about 6 ins. deep and 6 ins. wide.

Cattle

The Dorobo interest in cattle is probably due to their long contact with the Nandi; but though they desire cattle, they have not the land for them. Yet they have speculated about cattle inheritance, and by 1939 had worked out theoretical rules which they had scarcely had opportunities of testing. When they were evicted from the forest in 1937 they were officially credited with about 2,000 head of cattle; but no census of either people or stock appears to have been made in preparation for this event, and most of these cattle did not belong to real Dorobo. In 1938-9 the numbers of stock which I counted during the compilation of my census were:

	Cattle	Goats	Dogs
Koret of Kipkorom ..	25	15	4
Koret of Sosoiyo ..	54	19	3
Koret of Kelpui	11	0	0
	90	34	7

Methods of cattle-management are based on those of the Nandi.

1: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Means by which the Dorobo can acquire stock are: (1) By bridewealth: when a Nandi marries a Dorobo girl, her father gets the normal Nandi payment of one cow, one ox, and a varying number of goats. (When a Dorobo man marries a Nandi girl he has to find somehow the same amount of cattle.) (2) By gift exchange: a Nandi makes friends with a Dorobo, mainly to get honey, and after the first step towards friendship has been taken, the Dorobo gives him some. Later the Nandi gives a goat, and the way is thus paved for the exchange of cattle. This exchange is independent of the honey, which is given by the Dorobo from time to time. This process of acquiring cattle is of course a form of payment, but it is purchase under the peculiar conditions of forming a friendship by a previous exchange of gifts, for the Nandi do not readily part with their cattle, and it is necessary to lead up to the final stage by a preparatory exchange of other things. So far the Nandi have been willing to exchange male stock only in this way; to get cows the Dorobo have had to rely on bridewealth. (3) The Nandi will sell goats for cash, but not (at least up to 1939) cattle. The Dorobo do not seem to want sheep; they had none in 1939, nor when I first knew them in 1927.

Inheritance

The general rule is that when a man dies, his goods are kept by his wife for handing over to his children if they are small, or they pass straight to them if grown up. When a man has neither wife nor children, his heirs are his brothers, his father's brothers' sons, or his mother's brothers' sons. Women do not inherit stock. Land rights in the forest pass to the eldest son, or to a brother, or to one of the relatives termed *macokor* (see below, p. 62). Weapons are left to a brother, to a *macokor*, or to a clansman. Dogs are left to sons, or else to a brother or *macokor*. Goats are divided proportionately between sons, or pass to a brother or *macokor*. The proportion is roughly as follows, assuming that a man left seven goats and three sons: to eldest son, three; to second son, two; to youngest son, one; to his wife, one, this and its offspring going eventually to the youngest son. The theoretical division of cattle is approximately thus: to eldest son, two; to other sons, one each; to wife, one, which reverts to the youngest son.

Division of Labour

Everything connected with hunting, bees, and weapons is done by men; domestic work by women. The main occupations are divided thus:

Men:	Women:
Making fire.	Building houses.
Hunting.	Collecting vegetable food.
Trapping.	Getting water and firewood.
Putting meat on to cook.	Looking after meat cooking.
Making honey-barrels.	Cooking other food.
Collecting honey.	Milking when there are cows.
Making weapons.	Making baskets.
Trading with the Nandi.	Preparing skins.
Getting coloured earth.	Making clothes, etc.
Cutting wood.	Care of the children.
Making fences.	Sweeping huts.
Preliminary heavy work in the *imbaret*.	Cultivation, all stages.

Children of both sexes help in weeding and herding stock; girls help with the housework and milking, though boys are allowed to milk till they are circumcised. This division is followed strictly with regard to the first nine male activities; but with the last three there is some overlapping; and the essential domestic work and cultivation are often done by men, especially when they are unmarried or live quite alone.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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possibly these Dorobo had been poor Masai, who, having lost their cattle, had taken to hunting, is probably the correct one. It would appear likely that the Dorobo in question were *Balaŋga*, though Sir Claud was unable to satisfy himself as to their true origin.

The original *Balaŋga* are stated to have come from the Kisongo [1] district of the Masai. It may be that this is the case, as the name Kisongo originally stood for a very large tract of country—in fact, almost the whole area occupied to-day by the Masai of Tanganyika Territory. It is certain that there now are *Balaŋga* Dorobo with the Masai throughout the length and breadth of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve, and it becomes more difficult daily to find *Balaŋga* who still devote themselves to hunting. Even those who own little or no stock prefer to live with their richer brethren or with the Masai. The younger men have never led a bush life. They carry spears [2] (and, when appropriate, shields) and do not care to be reminded of the fact that they were ever other than the Masai.

Occasionally, when an elephant or other large beast is killed by the European sportsman, a few old men (Masai, to all outward seeming) will make their appearance unobtrusively, generally accompanied by donkeys. Having obtained permission, they will proceed to rip and hack away huge quantities of the flesh with a determination and cheerful abandon seldom to be met with in the Masai. When the donkeys have been loaded with as much meat as they can carry, the old gentlemen will quietly depart, bound, presumably, for a banquet of Gargantuan proportions. Should one ask, they will admit shyly that they are *Balaŋga*, but will almost always add: "We are now Masai again."

I think there can be no doubt that the Masai and the *Balaŋga* are one and the same. The opinions of the Masai (notoriously unwilling to admit the equality of others) and the *Balaŋga* themselves are unanimous on the matter, and I have been unable to discover any shred of evidence to the contrary. It would appear reasonable to assume that the *Balaŋga* are the

[1] Cf. Hollis: *Masai Language and Folklore*; pp. 260, 261. The name would seem to be restricted, nowadays, to an area south-west and west of Arusha. (Map reference: B 5; Kilimanjaro: E, F, I, K.)

[2] The spear would not seem to be an indigenous Dorobo weapon.

2; Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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descendants of the hardier members of the Masai tribe, who were forced to adopt a life of hunting when supplies were short, as on the occasions when rinderpest swept through the Masai herds, leaving famine in its wake.

The changes from the original stock wrought by environment alone in many Western races are more marked than the differences to be observed between the *Balañga* and their parent tribe. It may be said, in the case of the *Balañga*, that environment would seem to have done its work with remarkable swiftness if any outward difference can be detected between the *Balañga* and the Masai to-day, but is not Africa a country of mushroom growths?

Il-Kinyalañgat

The *Kinyalañgat* Dorobo would seem to be to the Kwavi or Lumbwa [1] Masai what the *Balañga* is to the Masai proper. The Lumbwa, with the *Kinyalañgat*, live on the southern border of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve and in various small communities throughout the Dodoma, Kilosa and Handeni Districts. There are, also, Lumbwa in Usambara, east of the Pangani river. The Lumbwa state that the *Kinyalañgat* Dorobo originated in or near Morogoro, but as many *Kinyalañgat* are found wherever the Lumbwa live, I do not think this assertion can be relied on except insomuch as it refers to the *Kinyalañgat* who sprang from that section of the Lumbwa which itself "originated" in Morogoro.

I have listened to the speech of the *Kinyalañgat* (who have no language but Masai),[2] and in it can be detected the typical characteristics which distinguish the pronunciation of the Lumbwa from that of the Masai proper. The *Kinyalañgat* call themselves Lumbwa,[3] live with the Lumbwa and move when they move. They have, as a general rule, small herds of

[1] *'l-Oikop*. The Lumbwa and the Masai proper are not friendly. Any account of their differences would be too lengthy to insert here, as the original cause of discord is of some antiquity. There were some small skirmishes between the Lumbwa and the Masai of adjoining areas during the late war. The Lumbwa are said to have assisted the Germans on many occasions to locate hidden Masai cattle.

[2] See note 3, p. 131.

[3] Kwavi, rather, as the name "Lumbwa" is not in favour among the Kwavi, being a term of contempt applied to those who, pastoralists born, have adopted agricultural habits.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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cattle. In many cases the "herd" of a *Kinyalañgat* elder may total only three or four head, but a few of them are better off.

The *Kinyalañgat* are now almost indistinguishable from the Lumbwa, and are agreed by all to be merely impoverished Lumbwa, who took to a bush life for the same reasons and probably about the same time as the *Balañga*. They are good bushmen even to the present day, but are not born to the bush life and will not live in the bush of choice. A *Kinyalañgat* elder of the 'L-aimer age[1] named Mwanamsunde lives at Mtambalo on the Handeni-Masai border. He is one of the oldest men in Masailand, but has little or no influence though he is termed *Ol-aigwenani*[2] by courtesy. He speaks no language except Masai with a marked Kwavi intonation.

I have not written much about either the *Balañga* or the *Kinyalañgat*, as I am convinced that the former are Masai and the latter 'l-Oikop. If this is not the case, I am unable to put forward an alternative theory, as my inquiries have been diligent and I have been forced to the conclusion above stated. It may be argued, therefore, that the *Balañga* and the *Kinyalañgat* are not Dorobo in the true sense of the word. In this I agree, if it be postulated that the Dorobo is a man apart and not of Masai origin. It seems to me very likely that the *Balañga* and their Kwavi contemporaries followed, through force of circumstances, the only mode of life which promised to keep them from starvation. In following this bush life they had before them the example of the people with whom it is now proposed to deal, and who have a much greater claim to be called Dorobo.

Il-Mósiro; Il-Médiak; Il-Kisankasa

The three names given above would seem to denote one and the same type of Dorobo. I have been unable to discover any difference between them. Curiously enough, although I have met many *Mósiro* and *Médiak* I have, so far, failed to come across an individual calling himself *Kisankasa*. I am inclined to think that the name is merely an alternative for one or both of the others. It is possible that these names may denote

[1] Circumcision of 1874 approximately, according to Hollis.
[2] Spokesman or Counsellor.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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clans or families,[1] after the manner of the Masai, but there is no difference between their several bearers at the present time. *Mósiro* and *Médiak* Dorobo live and hunt together all over the southern half of the Masai Reserve to-day. They are fairly numerous[2] (for Dorobo), and in many cases are almost indistinguishable, outwardly, from the Masai.

There, however, the similarity ends, as these Dorobo (referred to, henceforward, as *Mósiro* collectively) are the first with whom we have had to deal possessing a language of their own. Reference to the comparative lists of numbers and the list of names of common objects given elsewhere will show the wide difference there is between the language spoken by these people and that of the Masai.

According to Lekite, who was the only man in recent years holding even a semblance of authority among these people, the "home" of the *Mósiro* is at Talamai.[3] He, in common with many Masai and Dorobo elders, admits that the Dorobo originally came from a country designated vaguely as *Juu*,[4] but no living *Mósiroi* can remember the time when the majority of his people did not live at or near to Talamai.

The *Mósiro* are to be found, occasionally, living with the Masai in the kraals of the latter. They are sometimes (particularly when game and honey are scarce) to be found in small rude kraals of their own, close to the Masai. In these kraals will sometimes be seen a few goats or sheep and almost always fowls.[5] More often, however, the *Mósiro* live in tiny communities (sometimes a man, his wife and their children alone) in the depths of the bush. There they exist, houseless save for a rude shelter of skins within a primitive thorn stockade, by hunting and gathering roots and honey. When supplies run short they beg from the Masai. When a large animal is shot or dies from natural causes the *Mósiro* in the vicinity seem to become aware of the event in the most uncanny way. They will appear unexpectedly, make their camp, and remain until the carcass has been completely denuded of flesh. The meat is not eaten quite raw, but is subjected to a hasty charring, the

[1] More probably the former.
[2] Possibly 1000 souls, including the women and children.
[3] See note 3, p. 127. [4] *Above:* in this case meaning the north.
[5] The Masai regard the eating of fowls or eggs as unclean.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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duration of which is in inverse ratio to its toothsomeness and the severity of the cook's hunger.

The Masai are good to the *Mósiro* and seldom refuse them a share in whatever food is obtainable—be it milk, meat or grain. The *Mósiro* expect this; in fact, many of them seem to look on free rations from the Masai as their right. The reason for this is stated to be that the *Mósiro* helped the Masai on many occasions in the past (particularly during the great rinderpest epidemic in the early 'nineties) by hunting for them when starvation had overcome the ingrained antipathy of the Masai to venison. In addition, before the coming of European rule many elephants were killed by the *Mósiro* at the request of the Masai. Lekite told me of one drive in which he and about thirty *Mósiro* were engaged during which sixteen elephants were killed.

When a *Mósiroi* obtained cattle he used, unless restrained by his more prudent friends, to slaughter and eat them in the shortest possible time. Up to quite recently, a beast was valued by the *Mósiroi* only for the amount of meat it was capable of providing, but nowadays a few of them are beginning to herd cattle in a small way and some even live as Masai. It is interesting to note that many of the older generation, particularly the women, profess an aversion to having cattle in the vicinity of their own dwelling- or sleeping-places.

A few *Mósiro* till the land, but in a half-hearted way. They are extremely improvident and prefer to risk almost inevitable famine rather than to exert themselves in cultivating grain. They never expect their women to work in such small plantations as they may have. A *Mósiroi* will cheerfully tramp the bush for a week or more, picking up a most precarious existence on tubers and roots, and will consider himself well repaid if he returns with a few pounds of honey. He will be horrified at the idea of putting in one hour's work each day on a mealie patch for the same length of time.

In the bush, very little in the way of food comes amiss to the *Mósiroi*. Failing meat, his favourite food is honey, but this is regarded as a delicacy and would be eaten wholesale only under the most exceptional circumstances. If meat and honey are unobtainable, the *Mósiroi* has at his command an extensive

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be that their absence is in many cases due to poverty. The *Mósiro* women follow the unusual custom of the Masai women in shaving their heads.

The younger generation of the men ape the Masai in wearing pigtails and dress like them when they can. They are addicted to the use of *Ol-kária* [1] and will, in time, be absorbed by the Masai. A few of them are now working as herds for various Masai, and, as I have said before, others have begun to follow a pastoral life with their own small herds.

All the *Mósiro* speak Masai, but many of them do so very imperfectly. No Masai that I have met can speak the *Mósiro* tongue, though Masai who have come in contact with the Nandi tell me that the language spoken by the *Mósiro* to-day seems vaguely reminiscent of the Nandi speech. Reference to the lists of numbers given elsewhere will show the marked similarity there is between the numerals (up to five) in the Nandi, Suk and *Mósiro* tongues.

The language of the *Mósiro* is dying, as any language except Masai tends to do in the Masai country. I have asked many *Mósiro* to give me the names of various common objects, and I have often been given a Masai name, my informant protesting that he knew no other. In the case of the numerals, it would seem to be a moot point as to whether the *Mósiro* tongue originally possessed numerals up to seven only and borrowed the remainder from Masai, when usage demanded, or whether the numerals from eight onwards have fallen into disuse and have been replaced gradually by the Masai words.

The physical make-up of the *Mósiro* is good. They are, as a rule, tall and lithe and are in many cases more muscular than the Masai. The pigmentation of their skins varies from a light, clear brown to a black almost Nubian. There would seem to be differences between them and the Masai in the formation of the jaw-bone and the zygomatic arch. I have had neither instruments nor training to enable me to undertake a series of anthropometrical measurements, but I think it is safe to say that many *Mósiro* have high cheek-bones and

[1] A mixture of red ochre and mutton fat, smeared all over the body and patterned on the legs, arms and face. It seems to be in use among nearly all Nilotic tribes.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Hunting.

224 The chief occupation and, in fact, till the last few years, the only occupation of the Dorōbo, is hunting (*sagus*: Kony, *kip-sagus-iax* = hunter). They say that at the present day they do not hunt as much as they used to. All kinds of animals were the objects of the chase; the buffalo (*kiptarordt*; N. *soiet*), rhinoceros (*kip-kumit*), leopard (*melilto*, N.), lion (*sombit*; *ãgetuindo* N.,) giant pig (*tumda*, N.) were among the bigger game hunted. Various kinds of monkeys and antelopes are also sought after, both for their skins and their meat. (*See* "Food" for a list of the animals eaten by the Dorōbo.)

[411] The weapons used in the chase are the bow (*kuyuãgda*, N.) and arrow (*kōtiek*, N; *mbunatit*, etc.), and spears (*olmorondoit*†). Arrows and spears for hunting are [208] poisoned with a concoction made from the keliot tree (N.).[1] Formerly, before the elephant disappeared from the Tindiret region it was hunted and killed with poisoned spears. Small game, besides being shot, are also caught in traps and snares, of which the Dorōbo have two kinds; buffalo are also caught in the first kind: (1) Pits (*nguret*), covered with thin sticks and leaves, with spikes (*kipwaiyeinat*) set in the bottom. (2) Snares (*porōnet*; N. *mestet*) (Text-fig. 25), which are constructed as follows: a springy stick, A, is stuck in the ground and bent over; to its upper end is fastened a piece of tree-rope, B, which is loosely attached to a hooped stick stuck in the ground, supported by three short upright sticks; a little lower down the bent stick A is fastened a noose made from the ndorokyat tree, which is held in place by a cleft stick stuck in the ground on each side; under the noose is made a little platform of sticks, which is covered with leaves. When this platform is touched, since it is in contact with the stick holding the rope B, it releases the rope, and the stick A flies up, thereby tightening the noose.

[231] Dogs (*ãgōkto*, pl. *ãgōkik*) are used in hunting, and are the only animals kept by the Dorōbo who live in the forest. When in the forest they wear leather collars, to which are attached, under the throat, a small bell. The dogs seem to be of a different breed to the ordinary thin-nosed cur so common in native reserves, and they are kept in better condition. Their excrement round the huts takes the place of cow-dung in the neighbourhood of a Nandi hut, and makes the air unpleasant.

A description of the weapons is given on p. 346 below.

Food.

862 The staple foods of the Dorōbo are honey (*kuniat*, N.) and meat (*punyek*, N.).
136 For meat they kill the following animals:—

Antelopes.

Kipkeseket (N. *kimerenget*,).—Blue duiker (*Cephalophus aequatorialis*).
Mindet (N.).—Red duiker (*C. ignæ-issaci*).

[1] *Acocanthera Schimperi.*

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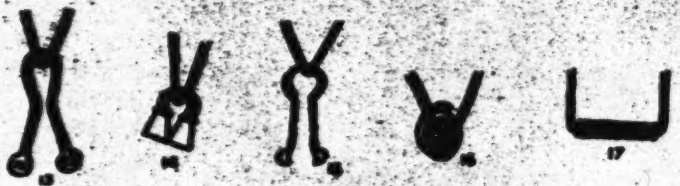

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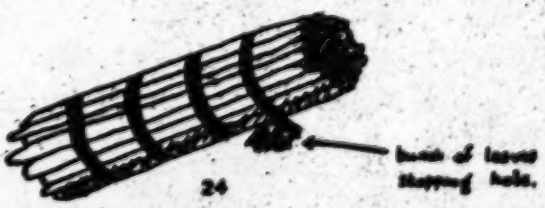

FIGS. 13-17.—MEN'S NOSE EAR-RINGS: (13-16, *chimwiriet*. 17, *kimoliwiit*). FIG. 18.—HAMMER WORN'S WOMEN EAR-RING (*koi*). FIG. 19.—CHARM OF *KUTHOGHELA* WOOD AGAINST HEADACHE. FIG. 20.—*Lepagumut* BOTTLACE, WORN FOR PROTECTION AGAINST THE EVIL EYE. FIG. 21.—BASKET (*korogot*). FIG. 22.—BAMBOO TOBACCO-BOX WITH SKIN COVERINGS (*kipsonet*). FIG. 23.—CARRYING KIT (*kimoke*). FIG. 24.—HONEY-BARREL (*pumwa*).

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

prepare food and wait upon the men, themselves eating when the men have finished. At the present day the Dorôbo are taking to eating eleusine grain, which is crushed on grindstones (*liêto*, N.) and made into a sort of porridge; and milk, which they obtain from Nandi, if there are any near them. Beer is made from honey, and is called *kipketînik* (N.). Tobacco (*tumatet*, N.; or *chepkochêtit*,[1] N.) is bought from the Nandi, and is taken by men, and occasionally by women. It is either chewed (*mit*, N.) or smoked in Kavirondo pipes (*terênik-aptumatet*, or *kwesînik*, N.), which are also obtained from the Nandi. The men carry tobacco in cylindrical boxes called *kiprauwit* (N. *kiprau*) (Text-fig. 22), made from sosoiyat (bamboo), with skin coverings for the ends, to which are attached thin leather thongs, by which the box is slung round the neck.[2]

Agriculture and Stock.

Formerly the Dorôbo possessed no stock, nor did they till the ground. During the last quarter of a century or so a few of those living on the edge of the forest have taken to cultivating small plantations (*imbaret*, N.), in which they grow eleusine grain (*olbaiek*†, or *paiek*; N. *pâk*) only. A few possess, at the present day, one or two cows; others have a few goats and sheep; no one has more than 5 to 10 head. The only animals they possess in numbers are dogs.

Dress and Ornaments.

(i) *Males.*—Boys wear skins of antelopes and monkeys (*akuriet*; N. *inguriet*). Warriors wear skin garments of duiker (*ngeswuyo*,[3] N.) called akuriet; they wear leg-bells attached to a leather band (*mpitiko*,[3] pl. *mpitikochîsiek*) on the ankles. Nowadays some wear pieces of cotton-cloth (*enget*, N.) dyed brown.[3] Old men wear bush-buck skins (*akuriet*) with the fur left on. Caps (*engeruit*†) are worn, of blue duiker skin with the fur left on, by old men, and of cotton-cloth by warriors. Belts (*entoreit*†) of leather are worn by old men, and of beads by boys and warriors. Necklaces of chains (*sirimdo*, N.) or iron-wire (*asingait*, N.) are worn; also various kinds of iron ear-rings (*olaimeriat*† and *kimeitaiit* (Text-figs. 13–17); N. *kimeitritiat*) are worn by warriors and elders.

(ii) *Females.*—The dress of the women and girls is very similar to that of Nandi women. They wear skirts (*chepkaiyuit*; N. *chepkwit*) and upper garments (*koliket*, N.), both of tanned leather, with the fur removed, in the same manner as the Nandi women. Their ornaments consist of iron-wire armlets and leglets (*makirurênik* and *kurik*, N.), and wire necklaces (*asingait*, pl. *asingutsiek*, N.). Married women wear

[1] *Chepkochêtit* means "snuff" in Nandi.

[2] These are similar to the Nandi tobacco-boxes, from which indeed they are probably borrowed.

[3] As do the Nandi, from whom doubtless the custom spread to the Dorôbo.

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gaining his position through the tacit recognition of the people. The horde therefore consists of a loosely integrated group of districts held together partly because they "are all Dorobo", but much more by the clan-solidarity which extends across the district boundaries. The clan is thus a far more important institution than it is among the Nandi.

The Dorobo are a hunting people who have been forced to take up agriculture, and at the same time are in process of acquiring a small amount of live stock. A great deal of their culture and most of their language have been borrowed from the Nandi; but their habits and mental characteristics are their own, including a "hunting outlook" which contrasts with the "cattle outlook" of the pastoralist, and a feeling of sympathy with wild animals that does not exist among either pastoralists or agriculturalists. Next in importance to hunting come bees, and honey is regarded much as pastoral people regard milk.

Although the Dorobo are commonly thought of as a people who wander at will wherever there is game, this notion is true only to a limited extent. Parties used to go far afield in the old days seeking game outside their own territory in the sparsely inhabited areas of the highlands; but their own forest was and still is divided into strictly observed economic areas where are family holdings in which people hunt, set traps, keep their bees, and collect vegetable food. These areas may look small on the map; but anyone who thinks that half an inch on a map (representing perhaps one mile on the ground) seems a very short distance, will find when he gets to the forest that one mile on the ground is a very formidable tract offering all sorts of possibilities for the hunter, and infinite chances for the stranger to lose himself.

Appendix

Analysis of the Census

District	Single men	Married men	Women	Male children	Female children	Totals
Kiplorum	8	6	15	10	10	49
Sosoiyo	22	19	36	14	19	109
Kelpul	25	19	17	9	5	75
	55	44	58	35	34	226

Analysis of Domicile Categories

Domicile Category	Kiplorum	Sosoiyo	Kelpul	% of Total	Totals
A	0	13	0	6	13
B	33	59	46	61	138
C	16	34	17	25	67
D	0	3	13	7	16
Unknown	0	2	0	1	2
	49	109	75	100	226

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

888 helps his wife to bring up his children, continuing her claim on him in affection which outlasts childhood into old age.

596 My chief friend and informant among the Dorobo, Kimopo arap Mining, lived, during the period of my field-work, at Kipukua, with his mother Cesikirikat, and his family consisted of the following:

Cesikirikat ♀

♂ Arap Mining = Cepkumuren ♀

♂ Kiprotic ♂ Kiptuma ♂ Tiongoi Situni ♀ girl not yet named, born 3 Dec 1938.

[342] In July 1938 he was living in a flat-topped hut in the middle of his section of the settlement; but by December of the same year he had moved [361] to a new hut with a pointed roof outside the *shamba*. His mother's hut was about 300 yards away at the other end of the *shamba*. His three boys (all *Juma* age-set, he himself being a *N'yongi*) ranged from about four years old upwards, and Situni, the elder girl, was about seven. At this time he [513] slept in the back part of the hut, the *incor*, where his goats are kept at night, and his wife slept with the children in the front part, the *koima*. This [231] was because she was suckling a baby. Strictly, Arap Mining should have gone to sleep in another hut, but since this was not possible for several reasons, the wall dividing the *incor* from the *koima* was allowed to make the *incor* count as a separate hut (the original type of Dorobo hut has no partition at all).

855 One day I arrived rather early and found that Cepkumuren had gone across the valley to get a new water-pot, leaving Arap Mining in charge of the children. Situni looked after the baby, but still he found his responsibilities rather a heavy burden, and was glad when his wife returned a little before noon. Cepkumuren fed the baby, sent the children indoors to rest, and went down to the river to wash. At this hour, when there is no particular work to be done, the older people sleep. On some days Cesikirikat comes to Arap Mining's *shamba* to help with the cultivation: Cepkumuren [241] normally works there too, but not every day while the baby is so young. When she does go, Arap Mining goes with her, and the baby is left with Situni. But the *shamba* is not so far away that Cepkumuren cannot hear the children if anything goes wrong.

855 604 The Dorobo elementary family might thus seem to be independent and self-contained. But it is not so really, and other relatives have a share in the upbringing of the children, not in spite of the parents' authority, but in support of it, and the relative who must be considered next to the parents from the Dorobo point of view is the father's brother, *papa*, who often lives in the same settlement, or if not, only a short distance away. This person, especially when he is an elder brother, has a position of authority over his brother's children at least equal to that of their father. His wife, a classi-

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FLA Dorobo FLA

the forces of nature, a belief which (I am convinced) does have the effect of giving him confidence in his ability to deal with an imperfectly understood world. All those parts of human life in which there is an element of uncertainty or danger can be "controlled" by means of magic, not always completely, but with enough coincidental result to confirm the belief that what has been done is the right thing to do and to keep on doing.

The main occupation of the Dorobo was hunting. Unfortunately this is one of the things we know least about, because owing to external pressure the Dorobo have had to give up real hunting and now confine themselves to trapping. It was therefore impossible to get hold of anything more than a few allusions to the hunting magic of the old days. On the one hand, fear of the government has undoubtedly sealed the lips of some of the older Dorobo, for hunting is now forbidden, and they were afraid, quite mistakenly, that if they talked about it, they might get into trouble, as people might think they were still hunting; and on the other hand, ignorance prevents the younger men from talking about it, for most of them have never hunted in the real sense of the word. But there was hunting magic. There was, for example, not only a seasonal division of hunting activities, but a magical division as well. In the dry weather people used to hunt for eland with bow and arrow; in the wet weather they set traps close to home. Now from the magical point of view it is the bow and arrow work that needs help, for in it there is an element of danger to the hunter, and of uncertainty as to whether he will make a kill. In trapping, the process is mechanical, a mere matter of being able to make a trap. All that need be done is to set the trap and wait: sooner or later it will catch something without any danger to the trapper. So when a man was going out with bow and arrow he had to abstain from sexual intercourse immediately before setting out on an expedition, lest the act should put him into mystical danger. Prayers and the observation of omens before going out gave a man further confidence. But when setting traps this abstinence is not necessary.

We have already come across a good deal of magic. The forms of purification after killing people, for instance, are magical as much as religious; so is the cleansing of women after childbirth; and all sorts of things people do in daily life are nothing else but manifestations of the belief in the efficacy of magic. When a man puts a new honey-barrel into a tree and calls out to the bees to enter it, his call is as much a magical utterance as a mere invitation to enter his barrel.

Omens include the following:

If the birds called *kipsiliti* and *kipkuekue* or *kipkuekue* (both species of woodpecker) are seen or heard on the right hand side when starting out to hunt or on a journey, a man will be successful; but if they are on the left, he will be unsuccessful.

If a snake crosses the path from right to left, having first been seen lying still on the side of the path, it is a bad sign, and a man should return home and wait till the next day. But a snake which is seen in the act of crossing a path is of no significance, "for it also is travelling".

Hollingsfield E-5 (1936-1939) 1994 FLA Dembo FLA

different, for they also are intelligent. Every animal of the forest is alike*; we eat some, others we do not; but we like them all. We are of the forest, and they also are of the forest.)

Wild animals for the Dombo have personality, not the kind that is expressed in the folk-tales of pastoral and agricultural Africans in which animals speak and behave like humans, but a real kind of personality that human beings like the Dombo can respond to.

Bees, though not themselves reared, are analogous to cattle among the Nandi, and their product has great social value and hence strong ritual value. Besides giving honey with its many uses, bees provide an occupation which is less strenuous than hunting and can thus be continued by older men who are still reasonably active but not active enough to stand all the rigours of a hunter's life.

Edible plants have social value, but since under existing conditions there is no scarcity of them, there is no ritual relationship between them and men.

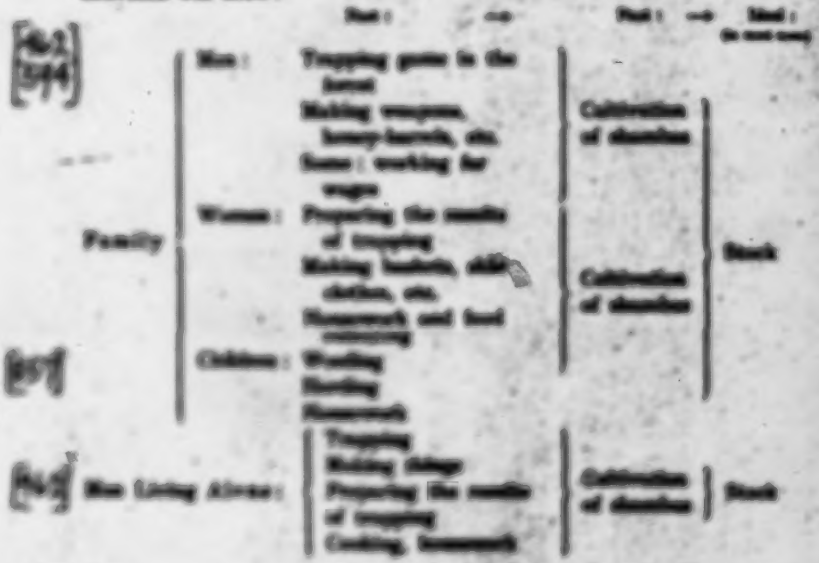
The clan has a social value not found among the Nandi, for the Dombo are not a tribe in the same sense that the Nandi are, and although the significance that the similar expression *ke Nandi*, "we are Nandi", gives when said by a Nandi. The real unit of the Dombo is the clan, the significance and solidarity of which we have already tried to explain; and the effect of all that the clan means to the Dombo is that it has an immense group-value, being the element that ensures inside solidarity.

Personification and well-being. Rain and its inevitable concomitant the thunder are perhaps more striking to a forest than the sun, and it is reasonable that they should be personified in one figure: "*Ilat* was a man". This is probably an original Dombo belief, for to the Nandi *Ilat* has the form of a bird. This personification expresses and fulfills the Dombo need of personal contact with a dangerous element, and explains the actions of the Dombo whom the Cleric Hezza saw defying the "rain-god" *. The notion of *Asis* is much less concrete and definite, and in spite of occasional prayers to him, the conception of his functions is even less clear. Yet while *Ilat* may be regarded as the power which controls the weather, *Asis* seems to be the moving spirit behind everything, with the spirits of the dead as intermediaries between man and 'nature'. It is plain, however, that the well-being of the herds is maintained by keeping on the right side of these powers, and that the avoidance of public debts is necessary to prevent disaster to the herds. Public debts thus in one sense come under the head of religion, for their commission entails the breaking of the ritual relationship between man and

* That is, although some animals (like human kind or Dombo) are more intelligent than others, and although the human kind are some of the others that are all, nevertheless they are all alike, human and non-human, in that they all live side by side in the forest.

* Hist. 1900, 100.

433 the absence of pastoral and agricultural techniques and vocabulary, by their myths, and in fact by everything about them. To-day it is true that they are becoming agriculturists, as the following analysis of their economic activities will show:



Dundee life therefore converges on subsistence, with a hunting background, and seems to view as the ultimate achievement. For though the hunting instinct is still very much alive, and though a great deal of time is now spent on cultivation, there is no doubt that the Dundee (in 1939 at least) had a Dreamtime economy in their minds as the ultimate goal.

5. Economic Activities

a) Beekeeping

434 Honey is to the Dundee what milk is to the Hindu. It is much-sought food has a high ritual value, in consequence of which certain rules must be observed lest the supply fail. A person must not eat fruit or blood on the same day that he has eaten honey, though he or she may eat meat. After eating honey, bits of the comb must not be left lying on the ground, but must be hidden in the undergrowth. Amos Mbote said, somewhat unconvincingly, that the reason for this was "that other people shall not see them and so be led to your honey-barrel". But this is probably not the true reason, which may be either simply respect to the honey, from a fear that if treated disrespectfully the supply will fail; or else fear of a witch putting a spell on the bees or honey

4:Huntingford E-1 (1938-/939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

[125] described as *ceremonomet*, i.e. narrow-waisted; she is bigger than the others, with a large head and body and no sting. The workers, called simply *sekowik*, "bees", are considered to be males[*], and the Dorobo say that all the male bees in a swarm fertilize the queen. The queen lives inside the swarm surrounded by the bees, and never goes outside it, being fed by the workers with the honey they make, and she lays her eggs in the fresh combs before any honey has been deposited in them. The workers make honey, according to the Dorobo, by eating the 'water' (*pak*) of the flowers, which they vomit into the empty combs when they return to the swarm[*]. A comb is made (*ar built, ne sepeiat* — build the comb) by the mouths of the bees with the help of another substance which they get also from flowers; and from the same source they get wax (*pomoriat*) which they bring in on their feet, and use to close-up openings in the hive[*]. This is what the Dorobo say. The drone, on the other hand is considered to be a female wiggli does no work and has no sting. The drones just fly about "playing", and as far as the Dorobo can see perform no useful work. They just eat up the honey and often a time the workers kill them, *kotil kibit*, "they cut their necks", so that they shall not eat the whole supply of honey[*]. Terms used to describe bees are:

Kamat — queen (lit. mother).
Sekowik — workers (sing. *sekweiat*).
Kajuruwik — drones (sing. *kajuriat*).
Uwek — young bees, grubs (sing. *uweuet*).
Gidoiyat — swarm.
Mpakiat
Wawuriat — Empty comb, either new and unused, or old.
Kipiririat — comb full of honey.

The Dorobo seem to have no idea of the length of a bee's life, which in Europe may amount to some seven months in the case of bees born to the autumn.

●231 [422] [428] Honey-barrels or hives, *pimwet*, are made of slats or of hollowed-out logs and placed in trees for the bees to swarm in. Once a swarm has entered it is considered to belong to the owner to the hive. If it stays for a long time (the Dorobo say) it may be inherited by the owner's son; but if it should go from one man's barrel into another's, nothing is done, for though the Dorobo say that their bees get to know them, they do not claim to be able to control their movements. And if a swarm deserts a barrel, the owner just [323] waits till another swarm comes to it. The commoner type of honey-barrel is

[*] The workers are really females whose ovaries have become modified so that they do not normally produce eggs.

[*] This is not very far short of the truth, for bees take into their crops a substance called nectar from the flowers and deposit it in the comb. By the action of their saliva, which produces a chemical change, the nectar becomes honey, and is superintend into the cells for storage or for feeding the grubs. (Cf. article Bee in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, ed. 11, by Prof. G. H. Cunningham.)

[*] Wax is really secreted by special cells in the abdomen of the worker bee.

[*] Drones are in reality the males which mate with the queen. When the mating season is over and food is getting scarce, they are killed and thrown out by the workers.

Schlesinghaus Bd. 5 (1936–1939) 1953 FLA Dvorako FLA

their needs of bulkiness and bags. A suitable log is cut of such a length as to allow for a length of about 2 ft. 6 ins. in the finished article. Trees specially favoured for making honey-barrels are the *mosot* and *nemaiki*, on account of the ease with which they can be worked; others used are the *tmetmet*, *olignet*, *kipalmet*, *kiptenjwet*, and *nemarin*. The entire work of shaping and cutting is done with the axe. The log is then split into two equal halves longitudinally, which are then hollowed out, leaving sides about an inch thick. In the bottom of one half an oblong hole is cut, through which the bees can enter and the owner put his hand to take honey. Four holes are bored in the sides of each half with a red-hot boring-needle (Fig. 1), and when the two halves are put together, bone is threaded through the holes to hold them in place.

The *dist* barrel, not so common as the *dog-ost* because of the difficulty of making the exit-groove, is made of strips or slats of strong bark, the *mosot* and *nemaiki* trees being favourites for this purpose. The ends are formed of two solid circles of wood which have to be cut laboriously from a log and trimmed to shape. The bark slats are then put in position round the end-pieces and bound together with bone, a tricky piece of work, as anyone who has had to do a similar job will realize; and to get the barrel into place in the tree also requires great care, since it easily collapses if roughly handled. A bone hole is made in the centre side, as in the *dog-ost* type (Fig. 1, 2).

(a) Handles, (b) bar-clamp, (c) bar-bound ends.

Fig. 1. *Dog-ost* (honey-barrel).

When a man gets up a new honey-barrel, he calls out to the bees to come and settle in it.[1] The invocation to bees has a set form, and is uttered in a rather exhilarated, high-pitched tone:

Ndisek, ndisek, ee ee! ee-ee-ee-eeeee, ndisek, ee ginet![2] anyone, *ndisekisek*, bees, bees, who are in *ceretisiet*-trees-of, come-bees ! ee-ee, ginet-in-honey, *ndisekisek*![3]
ginet-in-honey.

Bees do not get ill, they say, but are liable to be killed by heavy rain. If they are caught in a storm while getting honey, they have also a number

[1] One informant says of bees in a hot, stuffy place in *kimoiwon* vengeance, 'young bees are allowed to develop, and the old queen leads off a swarm to find a new home.

[2] This shrill expression is said to be equivalent to *Kaiyos yo*, 'come here'.

[3] The Dorobo fully harnessed this honesty and shrewd it to their evil-to-evil-to-evil-to-

Gillmanlingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

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Fig. 1.
Wax Honey-Guide.

of enemies, which eat either them or their eggs. These birds in particular are said to be fond of eating bees, a small brown bird called *sigbwandwa*, a small green bird called *kimet*, and a small black-and-grey bird called *mutebiet*. The *kimet* bird (*cuculus indicator*) cries 'kwe-kwe-kwe', and when it says that near a tree people know that bees are there; this is the bird which many Africans follow when they are looking for wild honey. The Dorobo regard it as an enemy of the bees because it gives away their natural hiding-places. Soldier ants (*pirwit*) eat the eggs and grubs (*sarok*) in the hornets. But no steps, either practical or magical, seem to be taken to protect the bees beyond the observance of certain rules regarding the eating of honey and the disposal of the comb.

The Dorobo say that bees know their owners by the smell of their bodies, and that for this reason people are stung but little when they take honey from their own hornets. But if a stranger tries to steal honey he is not recognized and gets stung badly. People claim also to be able to recognize their own bees; for if, as they say does happen, other bees settle in the hornet along with the original owners, they can distinguish the original bees by their colour and the part of the hornet from which they come. Whether or not this is true, does not matter very much; but there seems to be some truth in the statement that bees know their owners, for I have seen Dorobo take honey without the paraphernalia put on by a European for the purpose, and get stung but little and with no ill effects from the few stings they did receive.

231
[illegible]

When a hornet is put in a tree in the forest, it often has to be high above the ground, since many of the trees have no branches near the ground, and to help the owner climb a sort of ladder made of a number of thin poles lashed together is tied loosely to the tree trunk with lianas (Fig. 2). To put the hornet in the tree, and to take honey from it, the Dorobo has to climb this crazy ladder which looks as if it would slip or break with each movement, but somehow does not, and lasts, rather surprisingly, for quite a long time. To take honey, the Dorobo makes fire in a large bundle of timber. When he has got it smouldering, he takes a bunch of leaves (probably of *kitwajiwet*, *Ficus sp.*) and putting them and the timber inside his garment, he climbs up to the hornet. He blows the timber till it gives out a good smoke and then holds it under the

Fig. 2.
Diagram to show the Construction of a Ladder on a Oil-A. Tree.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

barrel so that the smoke goes inside and the bees come out. He then takes out what honey he wants, wraps it in the leaves he has brought, and descends, carefully extinguishing the tinder when he has reached the ground. Though sometimes the barrels are not more than a few feet from the ground, very often the process of taking honey means a climb of eighty feet or so with no help but the unsteady ladder already described.

Although honey has great ritual and social value, like milk to the Nandi, it cannot be said that bees take the place of cattle in the daily life of the people, for they require and receive no care beyond the provision of barrels and the due observance of the taboos concerning honey, and there is really no need to know very much about them. But as producers of honey, bees provide material for food, drink, and ritual, and they are thus of some importance. Honey, too, is a much-used medium of exchange. Without honey, Dorobo life would be vain and empty.

(c) Hunting

In the past, hunting was the chief occupation of Dorobo men, and though they hunt but little now, confining their activities to trapping, they have still a "hunting outlook". The conversation of Dorobo walking through the forest sooner or later turns on the animal life around them, for as we have already noted, they have what the Nandi call *emiet*, which one might almost render 'affinity', with the beasts of the forest. The sort of talk that goes on in the forest is something like this sample, which I took down after hearing it:

A. *Kelich ap tiondi.*
The dust of the animals.

B. *Ee, ai paiuet, pwee ye, wendi ye.*
Look, this one (is) the bushbuck, it comes from over there, it goes over there.
Mising, a ne misio misio, tinye kakwenyi kitokin.
Small, but not small very, it has the child small.

A. *Canik cuto tiondi, nii ameshiweyan; ameno*
(They are) more than animals, they are in our forest; I like (the things)
cuto ameni.
which are of forest.

B. *Ingwenwen alinio tiondin, ajobo nii tiond ako. Ne*
Let us look over there (at) that forest, perhaps there is the animal another. What
ai ne kakiniai ani?
(is) this that creeps about inside?

A. *Ajobo tomin.*
Perhaps the grass pig.

B. *Wain, ameneni nutii. Ingwatinye kenyando ajobo ne. A nyanii*
Yes, I see the hoof. It (i.e.hoof) the have I kill that one. But there is
kenyando.
not have the hoof.

A. *Ingwenwen ale nene.*
Let us see where it escapes (to).

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

224 [846] [220] The year was divided, from the hunting point of view, into the dry season and the wet season. In the wet season people did not generally go out hunting, but stayed at home and set traps to catch antelopes and the like. In the dry season they hunted all sorts of game with bow and arrow in the forest and far afield. Thus, Arap Minio told of how soon after he had been circumcised he was one of a hunting party that went into North Nandi, as far as the hills Kaptepe and Tapsakoi [10] near the modern Turbo, some forty miles from the forest, in the days when there were no Europeans there; and another Dorobo spoke of hunting monkeys as far from home as Kapiyet in North Nandi. Leopard, monkey, and pig are still plentiful. Buffalo still exist to the east, in the direction of Timboroa and Londiani, but they have not been hunted by the Dorobo in recent years, in fact, they say, not since about 1900 when the Kapiele age were warriors. Elephant are no more, but they were found in this area, according to some old men, when the Sawe and Kipkoimet were warriors about 60 to 70 years ago. There are no lion in the forest, but the Dorobo occasionally shot them in the plains. Leopard used to be hunted by organized parties, but this practice has been discontinued for some years, though they are still attacked and killed by individuals if they get aggressive, as in February 1939, when Arap Singira got his lip torn in a leopard hunt at Soméyo. Sometimes traps are made for them, of wire which is picked up on the farms. But trapping leopard is not common, and the trap made by Arap Menuti which caught a leopard in July 1936 was said to be exceptional. [281] Generally they prefer to hunt a leopard with dogs, as in the old days, when if one was put up by a dog and climbed a tree, the hunter came and shot it.

[185] There is really no close season, as we understand the expression. The trapping season, which did in fact give the game a respite, was not intended for that purpose, but was for the convenience of the hunters themselves, because when it is wet, the forest is difficult to go through, the undergrowth thick, and the ground muddy and slippery; though some have been known to hunt pig there in wet weather.

[411] Dorobo hunting equipment consisted of a bow, poisoned arrows, quiver, knife, and dogs. Spears have never been used by the Kipkoreek, and the spear trap reported to be found among some Dorobo does not appear ever to have been one of their methods of killing big game. For trapping, a man needs only something to cut the materials with, and, of course, his skill; if he is to make a pit-trap, he needs something to dig with.

411 [322] [289] Bows are made mainly from the *kwiot* tree (*Teclea* sp.) and are about 5 ft. in length. A suitable piece of wood is cut and scraped with a knife-blade till it is smooth and of the right thickness. The bow-string, *kut*, is made of gut from the giant pig, *tamia*; the gut is stretched, greased and twisted till it becomes sufficiently strong and pliable for use. It is knotted to the ends of the bow an inch or so from each end; no notch is cut in the wood to receive it. Arrow-shafts are made from the *kwomandet* and *mamata* trees, as well as from split bamboo; they are smoothed with a knife-blade in the same way as

[103]

[10] Better known to Europeans as Kiboko and Kapsagat.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

the bow. Quivers are made of ox-hide. Arrow-poison is made from the bush called *keliot* (acocanthera Schimperi), the use of which the Nandi say was discovered by the Dorobo [16]. It is made in this way: leaves and branches are broken off and boiled in a pot for several hours. The resulting liquid is strained and boiled again till it becomes thick and tar-like. When cool it is placed on a sheet of bark, covered with another piece of bark and put in a tree out of the reach of children, together with the pot in which it was boiled. After making poison a man must purify himself by bathing in a river. *Keliot* poison acts very quickly, but does not make the whole of the animal killed by it unfit to eat. The flesh round the site of entry is cut away and destroyed, and the rest is eaten with safety.

The Dorobo used to have hunting dogs (*sokto*, pl. *sokik*) which at one time were the only animals they kept. They still have dogs, but the hunting breed which I saw in the Kelpui-Kipkorom area in 1927, seems to have died out, for though I saw a few dogs there in 1939, they were nothing more than the ordinary native type, the thin-nosed cur so common in Native Reserves and on farms wherever Africans are found. The original breed, as I saw it in 1927, had, it is true, a tightly curled tail, but was a much better looking animal, of a different shape, and much fiercer, resembling the so-called '*basenji*' dog of the Belgian Congo [17] more than anything else, especially in its prick ears, tail, and carriage, though it could bark. When in the forest, the Dorobo put leather collars on their dogs, with a small bell under the throat so that they could tell where the animals were when they put up game. It was noticeable both in 1927 and 1939 that the Dorobo treated their dogs better than Africans usually do — they paid more attention to them, played with them, and fondled them.

The traps used by the Kipkurerek are of two kinds: the pit-trap, and the springe. The pit-trap, *nguret*, is simply an oblong pit about 6 to 8 ft. long, 2 ft. wide, and 6 ft. deep, dug with digging-sticks, and the earth removed in bags or baskets. Wooden spikes, *kipuaiyeinat*, were often set in the bottom, and the whole was covered with thin sticks concealed by a layer of grass and leaves. The trap was dug across a path known to be used by buffalo, the animal it was chiefly intended to catch. This type is no longer used. The springe is the only trap used to-day. It is called *poroet*, and can be made in a very short time by almost any Dorobo. It is used chiefly to catch smaller game like antelope. The materials required to make a springe are wood, liana, and grass, and the only tool used is an axe or *panga* (the long-bladed knife or cutlass common in Africa, and now often used by Dorobo). The trap about to be described was made for me on the edge of the forest at Kipkorom by Coimin arap Katam on 9 July 1938. It took him about 12 minutes from start to finish, and did all that was claimed for it; it should be noted that he was somewhat out of practice, and probably took a little longer than a man who was constantly making traps.

[16] Cf. Hollis, The Nandi. Oxford 1909. p. 108.
[17] Cf. Capt. G. Dollman in Journ. Roy. African Soc. 36. 1937. 148.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

is to get as much as possible of the crop out of the way so that ploughing can start at once without having to wait till the crop is ripe. But the Dorobo had, all the same, made a step forward, for a solid, compact stook is less likely to be devastated by animals than plants standing scattered over a field.

By 25 November, 1938 the Kipukua people had reaped their crops. The shamba here was about an acre in extent, and was divided into four approximately equal-sized plots. There was little maize, for some had been eaten on the field and some had been destroyed by vermin; what was left had been stooked, and anything like an accurate estimate was impossible, though there might have been two or perhaps three bags in the stooks. If we estimate that the equivalent of two bags might have been eaten, and two more destroyed by vermin, we have about 6 or 7 bags, a somewhat high estimate for a crop grown mixed with eleusine, but not impossible [39]. Of eleusine, one plot yielded 3 bags, and another 2 bags (that is 5 bags from half an acre), not a great deal, certainly, but a fair yield under such conditions, and most useful as food, for the Dorobo eat most of their eleusine, and turn very little of it into beer. Maize and eleusine are ground by crushing on slabs of granite (*litrito*), and the resulting meal is made into gruel (*musarek*) for the children, and stiff porridge (*kimiet*) for the older people; it is generally eaten with a mess of vegetable food (*inguek*) prepared separately.

Storage of crops is not yet a very difficult problem. A few of the Dorobo, it is true, have built granaries of Nandi type, hidden just inside the forest to prevent thefts by the Nandi, for anyone can lift up the roof of such a granary in the night. But since so much of the maize is eaten on the field, what is left at harvest time can be stored in the loft; and the same applies to eleusine, for it does not yield a large amount of grain. I saw no millet growing, and the Dorobo said they bought it from the Nandi.

As we have already noted, agricultural labour is divided to a certain extent between the sexes, but the distinction is not very sharp, and it was found to work out in the following way:

Men:	Both:	Women:
Heavy preliminary work	Digging	
Planting	Weeding	Collecting and burning weeds
	Reaping	

The heavy work includes lopping off branches in the Nandi manner, clearing bushes, and breaking up the ground when hard. Women may also plant, but the tendency seems to be for men to do it, though there is no absolute rule against women planting. Children help with the weeding, and herd the goats when there are any; old men herd cattle, and women also sometimes herd goats.

The Dorobo had not by 1939 acquired the Nandi belief that each eleusine crop requires new land, which in the circumstances is just as well; but they do not hesitate to give up using land which is unproductive. Thus,

[39] The bag is the standard 2 ½ lb. gunny bag used in East Africa, holding 200 lbs. of maize.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

241
[361]

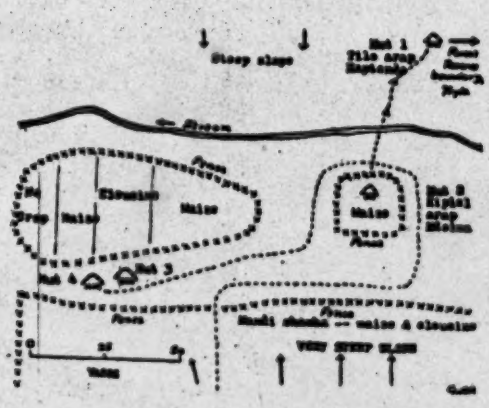

Fig. 6. Plan of a Dorobo Shamba at Kelpui alongside a Nandi Shamba.

at Kipukua in 1938 the crop was so much damaged by monkeys, pigs, and a sort of mole called *kesemiat*, that the original shamba had to be given up, and the occupiers took up new and separate plots elsewhere. Sometimes a Dorobo has a shamba all to himself; more often, however, several people divide the area inside a fence, each contributing to the labour of making it; [648] and in some cases Dorobo share part of a fenced shamba with Nandi (Fig. 6).

317 Though not connected with cultivation, we may mention here the subject of earth digging, because it is concerned with the ground. Red and white earth is found near Timboroa (or *Tambarua*, as the Dorobo call it), and men go in parties of four or five to dig it. They use nothing but a digging [482] stick, *kumet*, made of a sharpened stake, and the earth is carried home in large leather bags. In former days, when other Dorobo lived in the earth- [423] producing area, a digging party would ask leave to dig from the man who hunted over that tract of land, and though no fee seems to have been paid, it is said that if a man should refuse his consent, the party would go home without digging. But as no Dorobo now live there, this could not be verified. To-day the Dorobo sell coloured earth to the Nandi, who pay them 439 435 at the rate of 2 shillings for a large bag of earth. Red earth, *erokoit*, is used 302 mixed with fat (or sometimes *simsim* oil) for rubbing on the head; white 789 earth, *enoriot*, is used as a magical remedy in cases of homicide.

d) Cattle

231 If the Dorobo had not been in such close contact with a people whose 177 primary interest in life was cattle, it is possible that they would have contented 181 themselves with agriculture and no live stock. But their relations with the Nandi have inevitably led them to take an interest in cattle, and to think that the [556] possession of cattle is a desirable thing. Therefore they are slowly trying to acquire cattle, and are in process of making them their ultimate objective. But

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

they have been stock-owners for too short a time, and on too small a scale to have formulated or developed any cattle customs of their own; they do not think (like the Nandi) in terms of cattle; and their main efforts are at present concentrated on trying to acquire cattle. For the last, three ways are open to them, all slow and laborious: bride-payment, gift exchange, and purchase.

Bride-payment. A Dorobo whose daughter is married to a Nandi receives for her the number of stock that a Nandi would give for a girl of his own tribe, i. e. 1 cow and 1 ox or bull, together with a variable number of goats; and when a Dorobo marries a Nandi woman he has to pay at the same rate. Arap Keter acquired his cattle from the marriages of his three sisters: the eldest, Kapotikuany, was married while his father was still alive, and on the old man's death he inherited the cattle paid for her; the other two, Cesum and Taprandic were married after their father's death, and the cattle for them (amounting in the case of Taprandic to 1 bull, 1 cow, and 5 goats) was paid to Arap Keter.

Gift exchange. Nandi from time to time make friends with Dorobo, chiefly for the purpose of getting honey. The first move after two men have come to regard each other as friends, *coruet*, is for the Dorobo to give the Nandi some honey, without expectation of any immediate return. After a time, the Nandi gives the Dorobo a goat, and thus the way is prepared for the handing over of cattle. Arap Minin became the friend of a Nandi at Ollesos called Kapkile, and eventually got from him an ox in exchange for a fur cloak; and on another occasion he got an ox in exchange for seven goats which he bought with his wages for working on a farm. Arap Korucu in his youth hunted at Kapiyet in Nandi, and shot *tisiet* monkeys, from which he made fur cloaks which he exchanged for cattle. To-day he has five head of cattle which are herded for him by a Nandi named Kipkorir arap Serem on Farm 1479: the Nandi looks after them in return for the use of their milk, Arap Korucu being given a small amount of it. This process of acquiring cattle is, of course, a form of purchase, but it is purchase under the peculiar conditions of forming a friendship by exchange of gifts first. The Nandi do not readily part with their cattle, and it is therefore necessary to lead up to the final stage, as the Dorobo regard it, by the preparatory exchange of other things. And as a method of acquiring cattle it is limited by the fact that the Nandi seem willing to exchange only male stock in this way, so that for female stock the Dorobo have to rely on bride-payment.

Purchase. The Nandi do not sell cattle to the Dorobo except as just described, that is, in the form of bride-payment or by exchange. But they will sell goats for cash. The Dorobo do not seem to care about sheep, for in 1939 none possessed any.

At the time of their move in 1937 the Dorobo were credited officially with a large number of cattle, some 2000 head in fact. But in 1939 the actual numbers that I saw and counted (and I have reason to believe that these were practically all they had) were very much smaller. The following list, while it may not be perhaps completely accurate, gives a truer idea of the real numbers. It will be noticed that there were few goats; some were undoubtedly

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

missed in the count, but they are used even to-day so much for medical and magico-religious purposes that there is a constant drain on them.

The numbers that I actually counted in the three *korosuek* of Kipkorom, Kelpui, and Sosoiyo were:

		Cattle:	Goats:	Dogs:
Kipkorom:	Arap Keter (Cesundil)	10	—	—
	Arap Menati	—	10	2
	Arap Korucu	5	—	—
	Arap Minin	—	5	2
	Arap Keter (Kipsan)	5	—	—
Sosoiyo:	Arap Silimbo	20	—	—
	Arap Euni	3	—	—
	Arap Singira	—	—	3
	Arap Ceruiyo	1	—	—
	Kiken arap Silena	15	—	—
	Korionoi arap Munyenua	15	—	—
	Kiptoo arap Ngamnam	—	5	—
	Kisorio arap Lengei	—	10	—
	Kaola arap Ngamnam	—	4	—
Kelpui:	Arap Mateko	5	—	—
	Samupai arap Yator	6	—	—
		90	34	7

3. The Economic Division of the S. W. Corner of the Forest

The forest is regarded by the Dorobo as their special territory. Not only is it divided between the *korosuek*, but families have rights over parts of it, and these rights pass from father to son. The place where the trees come to an end forms a natural boundary and within that boundary was Dorobo ground where few strangers, except the occasional outlaw or fugitive, cared to penetrate. A man's forest rights included hunting, trapping, setting honey-barrels, and food-gathering. If anyone wished to do something on another man's ground, he might do so with the occupier's permission. A section of forest was not the absolute property of an individual and ratified by a pronouncement of the *koret* council, but was held on a tenure based on the fact of hereditary occupation sanctioned by public opinion: a man's section was automatically taken over by his son and this succession was recognized by the people.

The forest appeals to the Dorobo in four ways: (1) In the trees they had their homes, and they knew no manner of living in which there were no trees; trees therefore go with the land, which in fact does not count as land, but as something which bears trees. The cutting down of one or two trees on a man's section is his own affair, but if people should begin to cut down many trees, public opinion would be against them: *ngul komac Ohiot si kotil kotil ca cau, mecome Ohiet alak*, "if a Dorobo wanted to cut down many trees, the

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

other Dorobo would not like it", in the words of one old man. (2) The animals on whose flesh they feed and with whom they themselves have something in common, live in the forest. (3) In the trees live the bees whose honey they eat and drink, a substance as valuable to them as milk to the Nandi. (4) The forest is not only the medium of their life, but their protection. And so even to-day when they can no longer live in the forest, they still think of it as their own, and the division of the parts beside which they have made their settlements is of the utmost importance to them.

The division of the south-west corner of the forest between Kipkorom and Sosoiyo as it was in 1939 is shown in the Map. The forest is here divided into several unequal areas, bounded on the NE side by the main through-track from Kipkorom to Sosoiyo, and crossed also by the other through-track from Kipukua to Sosoiyo. The main track is used a good deal by the Nandi who go to see their friends and relations on the farms in the Meteitei valley; the other track is used mainly by Dorobo, and their honey-barrels and traps occur mostly along it, whereas there are none on the main track because strangers might interfere with them.

Between the two main tracks is the Ain ap Tinet, a stream which forms the northern boundary of the areas held by the Kapkolelac (I), Kapsituni (II), and Kapsingira (III) families, the last of which extends eastwards towards the main track. Group N° I is represented by Arap Keter, Kipungei, and Kipsan, three brothers; N° II by Arap Minio; and N° III by Arap Singira. The occupiers of I and II live at Kipukua, and of III at Sosoiyo. The Ain ap Tinet is the southern limit of the area held by the Kamuru (IV) represented by Arap Korucu who lives at Kpkorom, his land reaching to the main track. East of the main track, area N° V is held by the Kapcepouaita family represented by Arap Ceruiyo and his brother Arap Cepouaita who live at Ndoroton. Above this is area N° VI, held by the Kaptokoni, represented by Korionoi who lives at Upper Sooiyo in the forest. And finally N° VII is the easternmost area, occupied by the people who live at Upper Ngatepkoo in the forest and Lower Ngatepkoo ouside it. These are a mixture of six families: Kamnasutik, represented by Tatē; Kamereua, represented by Nekoi; Kapkorongos, represented by Kilanyi; Kapkimancari, represented by Arap Euni; Kapkipopo, represented by Kiprec; and Kapkuikoi, represented by Sulio[21]. These holdings are clan areas as well (except in the case of N° VII where four clans are represented, and the livision could not be satisfactorily traced):

I. Family Kapkolelac II. Family Kapsituni IV. Family Kamuru	Clan Moi.
III. Family Kapingira	Clan Kipieken.
V. Family Kapcepouaita	Clan Kipamui.
VI. Family Kaptokoni	Clan Kapsekoi.

[21] The prefix *Kap-*, besides meaning "place of", also means "family of", and is added to the name of a principal recent ancestor, who may be a woman, e. g. *Kapsituni* is named from *Situni* the wife of Arap Minio's father's father.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

423 It will be seen from the map that honey-barrels and traps are the main forest activities, the shambas being outside the limit of the trees.

The Dorobo had developed a habit of saying that there were no honey-
[231] barrels in the forest. Certainly this would seem to be true to anyone who goes through the forest along the main track from Kipkorom, for there one sees no sign of any activity at all. But on the other track, where few but Dorobo go, there are plenty of them, especially in Area I where Arap and his brothers are very active, several of the barrels near the path belonging to his unmarried half-brother Kipungei. In Area II there are not so many,
[886] because Arap Minin regards himself as an old man by now, and unable to work much (he is actually — in 1939 — about 40); his brother Arap Ruto works on a farm and is less active in the forest than Kipungei. But Arap Minin has at least two honey-barrels, which he showed me, as well as a trap
[487] in which not long before he had caught a bushbuck. A few paths branching off the main track which had once led to traps could still be distinguished, though they were not used in 1939. In Area III there was a new path leading to a trap made by Arap Singira some way from the track. In Areas VI
[361] and VII some of the people still live in the forest in the old type of Dorobo hut, the *koconget*.

Now these areas are not very extensive. The space of forest occupied by Areas I-IV is perhaps not more than six square miles or thereabouts, and that of Areas V and VI may not be more than four square miles. But a mile on the map is a very different thing from a mile on the ground in an African forest. The Dorobo have been forced by economic pressure to concentrate; and since the adoption, even on a small scale, of agriculture, the dependence on hunting has naturally been reduced. In addition to each forest area must be reckoned the strip of open land where they live, cultivate their little shambas, and herd their few livestock. Moreover the central and unoccupied part of the forest is open to anyone who chooses to hunt there, though there were no indications in 1939 that they actually did so. In the old days the
177 forest areas may have been larger, though when all the *korosuek* were occupied
423 there cannot have been very much difference in size. But a relatively small area is enough for bee-keeping, trapping, and food-gathering, and it must be remembered that in the past, before the forest people's economy was disturbed,
[224] they ranged much further afield to hunt with bow and arrow than is possible to-day, and the forest was primarily regarded as a trapping area. Various statements leave no doubt that the Dorobo used to hunt right over Nandi and Uasin Gishu, as well as in the high country east of Timboroa. Thus, though their own territory was limited in extent, their dry weather range was wide, and the supply of game more than adequate to their needs [1].

114 [1] This paper deals with conditions that existed up to 1940; the use of the present tense must be taken as referring to that period.

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL 6

Physical Characteristics.—The Wanderobo, although on the whole shorter in stature than their neighbours, are by no means a dwarf race. They resemble, very closely, the Dodotho and other tribes of Karamoja (Pl. XXVII, Figs. 3 and 4). A few measurements are appended. 142

The Village.—The Wanderobo village (*chewe*) is characteristically situated on the edge of a very steep or precipitous slope (Pl. XXVIII), and has an inner and outer stockade, added to which every hut (*ko, gubai*) within the village is itself stockaded. Within the villages the huts are grouped in twos or threes so as to communicate, by means of a small opening in the stockade through which one can only crawl, with a tiny compound in which there are two or three groups of cooking stones. Similar doorways, easily closed by means of a raft of sticks tied together, lead from one compound to another. The whole effect is very much that of a compact maze. The huts are very small, but some of them have two stories (Text-fig. 20), the lower for habitation and the upper, which opens at the side, for storing grain and property; 361 342

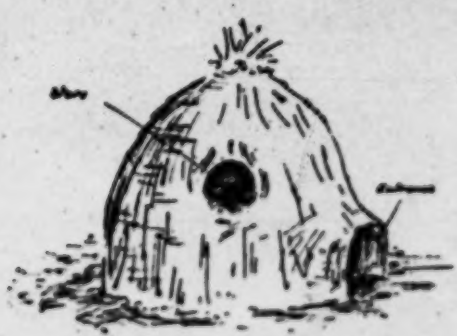

FIG. 20.—AN ANDOROBO HUT (*Tulai*).

they are built of grass, and in some cases the entrance has a little portico. The compounds and huts are kept very clean, and all dirt and rubbish is swept up and dumped outside the village, the limit of which, away from the scarp, is determined by a semi-circular drain that protects the village from run-off during rains. 356

Dress and Adornment.—This is essentially the same as that found among the Labwor, except that circumcision, apart from the ceremonies, seems to be but little practised. 291 [304]

Livestock.—The Wanderobo are essentially a race of hunters, but they have obtained a few goats from the Dodotho, and they keep dogs. 231 ●

Agriculture.—Cultivation is on a small scale, and is generally undertaken at a distance of some miles from the village, in a valley from which they procure their water. The Wanderobo are the tobacco growers of Karamoja, and as an example of the shortness of tribal memory it may be noted that the people say they have always grown tobacco (*lotuk*). In addition to this they grow a little sesamum (*ecoton*), indian corn (*ngaburripi*), and millet (*ngyp*). A form of 241

/54/

58. The Dorobo

The last name on the list of predecessors in the occupation of the land now held by the tribes of the Unit is Dorobo. Here again there have been much confusion and lack of definition, and in spite of the continued existence of 'pockets' of so-called Dorobo in many parts of East Africa we find ourselves beset with difficulties if we try to give a synoptic ethnological interpretation to the very numerous facts. Some would lump all the Dorobo together with the other trapping tribes and call them aboriginal hunting people of a Bushman type, explaining obvious departures from that type by infiltrations in varying amounts of Hamite and Negro blood. Others (including many Africans) think that the difference between them and the other tribes is simply one of culture[1], not of origin, that the Dorobo chose to stay a step behind while the others, due in part to population-pressure, moved from the hunting-trapping-gathering stage to that of herding or herding-planting.

59. Joseph Thomson, in Through Masailand, written in 1883 or thereabouts, gives the following account:

> "This tribe - the Wa-ndorobbo of the Wa-swahili - is a small race of people scattered over Masai-land who gain their entire livelihood by the chase. They neither keep cattle nor cultivate the land. The antelope, the buffalo, and the elephant supply them with such meat as they may desire, while they always find neighbouring tribes, less skillful in hunting, eager to exchange vegetable food for game. The elephant, however, seems to be their staple food, and as a rule the Andorobbo are to be found only where those animals abound; as for instance

1. To the Mwimbi at the present time Mwathi signifies a Mwimbi who, while engaging in hunting and trapping, lives in a settled village among the agricultural Mwimbi, while Dorobo signifies a Mwimbi (or anybody else) who lives in the forest and takes no part in agriculture.

/56 cont'd/

Physically, the Dorobo vary greatly, presumably according to the amount of mixture of other races in their blood. Some are very like the Bushmen, and therefore retain their oldest characteristics, whilst others are now almost indistinguishable from the semi-Hamitic negroes, having lost their original characteristics and having adopted many of the Hamitic methods and customs. They, however, retain their primitive dwellings, and, except in Northern Karamoja, as far as I know, the Dorobo keep no domestic animals except the dog. Being by nature hunters, and semi-nomadic, it is not expected that their numbers will ever increase greatly, but they will in time become totally absorbed in surrounding tribes ... In the country now occupied by the Kikuyu there were once dwarf peoples akin to the Dorobo (or their predecessors) and the Agumba. The Kikuyu are a Bantu tribe ... They attribute their origin to the Kamba. They are invaders of the highlands, where they split up, exterminated or absorbed the original dwarf-like inhabitants, known as Agumba and Dorobo ... The present density of population of the /57/ Kikuyu is comparatively recent. They are comparatively recent migrants into the highlands. The less fertile plains previously occupied by them were not rich enough, and a growing need for land gradually forced them up to the forest belts of Mount Kenya, destroying or absorbing the aborigines as they advanced ... In the A-Chuka section, one may observe Kikuyu with Bushman-like features as a result of their absorption of the primitive Agumba and Dorobo, whilst in other sections, the Kikuyu show a more Hamitic type of countenance as a result of Masai domination ... the Dorobo have been here for many thousands of years, being probably the original or almost the original inhabitants..."

174 [144] [231]

61. But we should certainly not be justified, without further evidence, in assuming that all these hunting people were closely related or had a common aboriginal ancestor in Africa merely because they can be conveniently classed together as hunting tribes.

/64 cont'd/

"to have occupied the land along both banks of the Aboni[1] or Amboni River. They intermarried and traded in famine years with the Kikuyu, and cannot remember having come from any other part of the country. For the most part, they lived apart, hunting in the /85/ Loldaika Hills. Between 1905 and 1912, when the alienation of land to Europeans took place, they were pressed northwards to their hunting grounds, and eventually settled down with the Mukogodo, having acquired cattle from the Masai and early traders, such as Mr. John Boyes. They included the El Choki plains within their gazing area. Their language is similar to Masai."

648
101

Mr. John Boyes told the Commision of a meeting between himself, a Dorobo chief Olomondo, and the Kikuyu chief Wangombe, and Wangombe's son Ndirango, in a memorandum o the Commision, speaks of "Chief Olemondo of Dorobo of Donkeys". The Dorobo referred to are clearly the Ndigiri[1], that being he common Kikuyu word for 'donkeys'.

The "Dorobo Commitee" classified the Lodigiri among the group living north of Laikipia and Mr. Huntingford puts the Digiri among the true Dorobo of his Eastern Group.

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1. The Gaki Kikuyu also call this river Moni. Aboni in Kikuyu means "the Moni people", and boni may be related to an original Nyika stem boni (f bilabial) which, prefixed by i, would give miboni in Ndia and boni in Kikuyu. Some relationshipbetween the Ndigiri and the Coast Boni might possibly be indicated.

1. Perhaps it was among the Dorobo that the Kikuyu first saw donkeys, which appear to have been unknown to the Bantu tribes of the Unit until comparatively recently. A Nyeri elder told me that the Ndigiri used donkeys instead of women for th transport of the meat of animals killed in the chase.

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They are said to be very prolific, having families of eight to ten children, but the infant mortality is so extremely heavy that their numbers increase very slowly; this mortality is probably due to the cold, damp climate of the Kiru Forests, which are at an altitude ranging from 7,000 to 9,000 feet. (43) (45) (132) (133)

Their game ceremony consists of cutting off a dog's ears, and the contending parties then spatter one another with the blood. (125) (297)

They live principally on Colobus and other monkeys, which they shoot in the forest. At certain seasons, however, they go and hunt big game on the plains, known as the Enagata Kyuki; they wait till the grass is dry, and then burn it to facilitate their hunting. They use poisoned arrows for big game, and unpoisoned ones for monkeys, &c. They train dogs to assist in their hunting, and are very keen to get young dogs for this purpose. They told me that they first gave the dog certain medicines, and the animal would then track game. 234 (242) (411) (151)

They are very clever elephant hunters, and informed me that when they came across an elephant they went off and hunted and scrubbed themselves very carefully to remove all trace of the human scent, and that they were then able to approach a sleeping elephant and spear it with a poisoned dart. (216) (126)

They are most expert in the use of a fleshish. The fire is produced in the ordinary way by the friction of one stick upon round vertically in a depression in another piece of wood, which is held firm between the bare feet of the operator; the lower piece of wood appeared to be the juniper of Kiru. 372 (124)

A small vocabulary of their language is appended on the opposite page. They use the Kisuli numerals. (187) (77)

The prefix "ki," and the suffixes "-ai," "-i," and "-ik," are, I think, brought in from the Kisuli language, but most of the roots will be found to be quite distinct. Many of the tribe can only speak Kisuli, and when collecting this vocabulary in many cases they appeared to have forgotten the Ogglish or Ossuth word but gave the Kisuli word, and had to search among themselves and, as it were, hunt up the proper word. The language is thus evidently dropping into such disuse that it will probably become quite extinct in the near future. (115) (112)

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[P.T.]

[P.192, B]

and by personal ability, and therefore to some extent by their geographical setting. They have no iron ore, no metallurgic knowledge, and so all ironwork is imported from the Nandi. Tobacco, which they like, is not grown as yet, and this too must be obtained from the Nandi. There is a regular exchange of honey, skins, and baskets, for arrowheads, knives, tobacco, seeds, pottery, etc., and a scale of exchange values has come into existence:

1 arrow head is given for a gourd of honey.
1 bundle of tobacco is given for a bag of honey.
1 large pot is given for a large bushbuck skin.
1 small pot is given for a duiker skin.
2 basketfuls of seed for one basket.[a]

Sometimes personal services are given, e.g. a day's weeding in the smith's garden for two knives.

Cattle are obtained from the Nandi, to a limited extent, by a system of gift exchange for fees. The Nandi make friends with the Dorobo chiefly for the purpose of getting honey, and the Dorobo will give meat to his Nandi friend without expectation of an immediate return. Presently the Nandi gives the Dorobo a goat, and this exchange of gifts paves the way for further and more important transactions: eventually the Dorobo offers his friend a fat cloak for an ox, as e.g. my friend Arap Mitoig acquired one from a Nandi called Kapkile at Ollessos; he also got another in exchange for 7 goats, which he bought out of his wages for working on a farm.

C. Techniques

1. Hunting

The dry weather, *amotionik*, is the shooting season, and the wet weather, *ilmit*, is the time for trapping. The weapon is the bow and arrow (spears are not used by the Kapchepkendi Dorobo), and the hunters use dogs.

In wet weather buck are caught in traps. In the dry season, wild pig of various kinds[b] were

[a] A honey-bag is about 12 ins. deep and 9 ins. wide; a container about twice as much honey as a gourd. A basket (*kerogut*) is about 9 ins. deep and 6½ ins. wide at the top.

[b] Female, the warthog (*Phacochoerus aethiopicus*); and tusker, the giant hog or bush-pig (*Hylochoerus meinertzhageni*).

[P.193, A]

hunted by concerted action, and still are, to a [illegible]
limited extent, by individuals, as well as several
species of monkey.[1] There seems to have been
no very strict close season, as pig were considered
by hunted in the wet season, though not often,
since the forest is difficult to traverse when wet.
There are now no lion or elephant, but they are [illegible]
said to have existed when the Tana and Ewaso
nyiri again were young men, i.e. about 1860. [illegible]
Leopards are still common, and are still shot if
one runs up a tree after being put up by dogs. [illegible]
They are sometimes caught in traps made of wire,
which is not bought, but searched for or stolen
from farms. However, a trap made by one Arap
Mogoni which caught a leopard during one of my
visits was said to be exceptional. Buffalo no
longer exist in the western end of the forest where
the Kapchepkond live, but they occur near
Lowdiani, a few miles to the east.

Hunting parties varied from two to eight men.
If, say, eight went out, half would go along one
bank of a stream, and half along the other bank,
so that one or other party would be sure to get
something. They met after the kill, and cooked [illegible]
the meat and ate some of it on the spot. The
rest was divided among the hunters and taken
home for their families, the unsuccessful members
of the hunt receiving a share from those who made
the kill. The hunter has to provide, not only his
own (elementary) family, but also his father,
mother, and wife's father with meat, and the
distribution of meat is in order of priority, to:—

Hunter: What is

1. Wife and children.
2. Father and mother.
3. Wife's father.
4. Neighbours (elementary).

A man has (or had till they were evicted by the [illegible]
government) an hereditary right over a piece of [illegible]
forest, which included hunting, trapping, bee- [illegible]
keeping, and food-gathering. Other people who [illegible]
wanted to hunt there asked permission to do so, [illegible]
but otherwise the right-holder might kill anyone [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

one down each side of the nose, and one down the centre of each cheek.

Now it seems that a particular material is not always essential, i.e. for a Swedish officer a goat or a sheep may be killed to get the object, and a sick man may be anointed either with goat's fat or with butter (though it must be a she-goat). An alternative is thus sometimes just as effective. But an essential feature is that the remedy must be something that is not easy to obtain; till quite recently, few Swedes had any goats, sheep, or cattle from which they could get the necessary fat, object, or butter, and even were many still lack them; nor does anybody keep a permanent stock of white earth in his hut. The whole procedure is an act of faith, as much as anything else, and entails a possibly laborious search for the necessary material. There is also an economic implication, for when people have no stock they must buy the animals they need, or that into what might seem to be a purely ritual transaction, enters an element of business.

UK Archive—GB 0-5 (1900-ca.1949) 1910 PLIS Ahmi
Service PLS
Ahm

(100 cows.)

If one finds them cross, one tries, as well as one can, to appease the stomach with wild roots or tubers, with berries or other small fruits, with honey and honey beer. Meat is seldom eaten raw, usually boiled or roasted on the open fire. For storage it is cut into long strips that are hung to dry in the sun. When the meat is well dried, it is stored away in the aforementioned ox, close to the canoe-canoe and small livestock, which are bought from the Ahmi for ivory, are not kept, but slaughtered immediately. Insofar as the Wandamba, in barter with missionary tribes, are able to come into the possession of vegetables, they also live on them, but actually only during times when, for some reason, only little game is to be had. Otherwise the vegetable food acquired by trade constitutes only a side dish, especially for women and children. Many of them labour with and have this as the fact that their stomachs, accustomed only to meat diet from early childhood, do not tolerate it. Some go so far as to throw away the skins of a slaughtered cow, although they eat that of a dead piece of game. There indeed seems to be no doubt but that the previously mentioned Ahmi belief, according to which milk and meat must not be brought together, rests on these customs. Besides meat, honey beer, which they make in the same way as the Ahmi, also serves them as a beverage. The latter price that made by them more than their own, which probably rests on the fact that the Wandamba keep the good honey for themselves and sell only the inferior kind. Men, women, and children eat together. Both the husband and the wife, his wives, and children and, on the other hand, those for the youth and his favorite girl are cooked in one pot. From this the food is poured into small wooden bowls (Ahmi), of which each adult dancing in the ward has his own. From the food laws of the Ahmi, the custom that young unmarried men may not drink honey beer is still found here as a survival. Tobacco is a luxury of the married. Men smoke it, coarsely cut, in pipes carved by themselves. Ground to powder and mixed with a little soapy ash and [illegible] fat, it serves both men and women for snuffing. Women also like to chew the stuff.

294 412 293 /233 cont./ As there is the tanned hides are sewed into articles of clothing with an awl (manyanga) and a thread twisted out of animal tendons (ang). If a number of hides for which, at the moment, one has no need for one's own use has piled up, a few old men with women and children, laden with skins and also maybe salt, set out for a neighboring area. Where the distance between this and the Wandorobo camp is such that it permits frequent trade, these caravans appear at the regularly held markets. If, however, they are able to come only rarely, they peddle their wares, inasmuch as, out of ignorance of time reckoning, they do not wait for the market days. They readily find customers, since both articles are very much in demand. The agriculturist principally dependent on a vegetable diet always needs salt, but he can only rarely extract it himself, since as a rule the arable soil contains no salt or such not in sufficient quantities. The need for hides /234/ is also often greater than the local production, even today when fabrics have largely replaced the leather clothing. After protracted haggling, an agreement is finally reached, and the Wandorobo, satisfied, set out for home with the harvest vegetables. If the hunting was sometimes particularly lucrative or if an elephant or rhinoceros was killed, part of the meat would also be sold to the always meat-hungry agriculturalists. Many of the latter, for example, the Watatia and Wakambe, also buy the meat of predatory animals from the Wandorobo, whose disdain is altogether, and therefore, in trading, they set such piece for small and cute.

231 [889] Old men, who only now and then in the evening lie in wait for game at a watering place, devote themselves outside the camp especially to the checking and supervision of the beehives (Fig. 8b), a large number of which hang within an hour's range. These are wooden tubes 120 centimeters long and /Fig. 8b appear less/ 40 centimeters thick, with an interior breadth of about 20 centimeters. They are made by hollowing out a correspondingly long piece of tree trunk, a very arduous task because the tools are so primitive. After the trunk, through hewing with an ax, appears circular in cross-section and tapered at both ends. It is smoothed on the outside with a knife (pandyng). Two instruments are used for the hollowing out

231 322 412

1. [i.e., among the Masai--Kamlpel]

Fig 41 (a)

(New work.)
the two counters of the ox blade
work into a wooden handle like
a knife and is held on a swing
rivet; the other is a bolster rivet
(qv) with which are assemble the
rules on the bolster. The two
openings are closed outside by
the wooden cover fitting into the
opening, two each of which two
holes permit entry for the wrist
bone. For hanging, one pair
around the middle pair two loops
twisted out of bronze, which are
connected, bradawise, by a
plaiting of bronze, like the straps
of a bridle). The bodkin is
picked up by the handle with a
beaded knurch, at the upper end
of which is talked a second one
with a bud-on top. With the
latter the whole thing is hung to the bracelet of safety cross. On the
side hanging downward the bodkin bears an oviendby mark. On a
rule it is the same as the one that is based on the long rang or on
the accessory rang of the prime point. On the bodkin are tools a
silken chain or only to bone part. Before the bakery is crossed
(qv) the bone are driven on by a very sharp fine bradawl under
the eye (b).

5. I never observed among the G Gentle a
supplying of the bone by means of ferrets
(Gymnodera), such as I am on Gillmanstown
among the Wallerlaggs.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

/307 cont./

/Sarcura 1 continued/

This species is striking because of the silky down of the hair of the capitulum each and calyces.

Inflamed eyes of cattle are washed with a decoction of extract of the bark bun for healing. Furthermore, seven medicine of the of gravels.

94. of herbet (Kigelia africana Bk.). The pans obtained by heating our scrapings of fresh young fruits is placed on wounds. /308/ A small piece of boiled fruit is placed in the fermenting honey beer to hasten fermentation.

95. of (Sesuvia spec.).

96. of (Acacia senegara Willd.). The decoction of a hand-sized piece of bark (does for one or two days) is drunk for gonorrhea until a cure is produced.

97. of (Combretaceae hallcarathus L.). The black, almost pea-sized seeds are strung on a string like beads and worn by the women as an ornament around their necks.

98. of (Sesuvia).

99. of (Sesuvia sepertifolium (Ehrh.) Engl.).

100. of (Solanum erlocroum Dunal., Solanum dichrocarpum Dunal.). The decoction of about ten finger-sized pieces of root is mixed with cows broth and drunk to cure the of herbet ; or two sickness.

101. of . Warriors like to drink a herb decoction to cause warp so as aid to digestion.

102. of . Cool-bodied grass.

103. of (Pennisetum spec.). Cool bodied grass.

104. of (Asystasia kotsoides Clig). The decoction of a square inch of bark is taken to get rid of vomiting and enteritis.

105. of (Senecio vernoniiformis O. H.). The bark are used by the El Kamba to make right headrings due have become body.

106. of of gravels. Cool bodied grass, especially for cattle.

107. of